

The Historical Outlook

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READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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creased prosperity for the Near East and a great revival in the importance of its routes.

Out of this revived importance and interest in the Near East routes has come the Bagdad Railway and its many attendant problems. It is the great Central Trade Route of old. Its modern form, the railway, gives it a tremendous advantage over the Mediterranean sea routes in so far as that trade is concerned which handles the inland products of Western Asia itself. Rail transportation is much faster than that by sea. Goods sent by sea from Hamburg to Aleppo must be loaded at the place of export and unloaded at Alexandretta, which is the present mouth into Asia corresponding to the ancient Seleucia (harbor of Antioch). Then they must be packed upon camels or loaded into cars, and sent forward to

Aleppo. The Hamburg-Constantinople-Bagdad Railway, with its rail connections, once the standard gauge is established throughout, will make it possible to load a car at Paris, Hamburg, Berlin or Petrograd and send it directly into the freight depots of Aleppo. The cost of transportation will be, by this one consideration alone, greatly reduced. This direct shipment is already possible from any of the great European centers to any place on the railway line in Anatolia, as far as the tunnels through the Taurus mountains, where the narrow gauge tracks for the present necessitate transshipment.

It is in this historic setting, as an old political and economic fact revived and modernized, that the Bagdad Railway scheme appears in its correct perspective.¹

How the Southerners Supported the War for Secession

BY PROFESSOR J. S. BASSETT, SMITH COLLEGE.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist about the right or wrong of secession, there can be little doubt that once in the war the people of the South gave it a strong and unselfish support. It was a gigantic venture on their part, and in order to carry it through to a successful issue they threw literally their "lives, fortunes, and sacred honor" into the struggle. It was not hard to see that it meant utter ruin, if the venture failed, yet they went forward to the test as gaily and as unreservedly as if the issue had been of the utmost certainty. Happily the things for which they fought are to-day merely academic principles, as one may well see by reading the daily casualty lists in the papers; but it may help us somewhat in our support of the present struggle if we recall that other series of sacrifices in the hot days of the 'sixties.

From the Southern point of view the war was fought to repel invasion. The gray clad men risked their lives to drive back the invaders of their homes. This they could not have done if they had not been bred to the notion that there was something peculiar in the South which made it a section apart from the rest of the United States. In 1861 the slavery controversy was thirty years old; the oldest man of military age in the South was a youth when it began. All his ideas had been formed in a school whose doctrine was that an attack on his institutions was imminent. In 1861 he felt that the long-dreaded day had arrived, and it was now or never, if he meant to save his home from domination by persons who had no sympathy with it. It was on this fundamental basis that his efforts to win the war rested.

I do not mean that all Southerners thought the South should go to war in 1861. Many of them, although they felt that they had grounds for resentment, held that war was not the remedy. Also, many did not agree with the measures taken to carry on the struggle after war began. President Jefferson Davis

had many critics in the South, and there was a wide divergence of views about the wisdom of some of the measures adopted by his government; but on the one great question of the necessity that every one should do his part in supporting the struggle there was no difference of judgment.

The most evident necessity, when hostilities began, was to raise an army. Volunteering was immediately employed for this purpose, and it yielded such good results that the training camps were so crowded that there were not muskets enough to equip the men who wished to use them. The Peninsular campaign in Virginia and the campaigns against Grant in Tennessee were fought by armies raised on this principle. But by this time it was evident that the struggle was to be so long that the entire man-power of the South would be required to meet the demand. Accordingly, the Confederate Congress enacted the conscription act of April 16, 1862, calling into the service all men from eighteen to thirty-five years of age. In the following September the latter age was raised to forty-five. There was no protest against the wisdom of this law. In fact, the men of the South generally held it a reproach if they waited to be conscripted, and they flocked to the enlistment stations in anticipation of the operation of the new laws. The last effort of the confederate government in calling out its man-power was the law of February 17, 1864, when all the men from seventeen to eighteen and from forty-five to fifty were enrolled in what was known as a reserve force, to be used for home defense. But the volunteers in the regular army included many a boy of sixteen. In the last months of the war hardly a Southern community contained a white man who

¹ For a sensible discussion of this and related questions, see the article upon the "Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade," by A. H. Lybyer, in the *English Historical Review*, XXX, 1915, pp. 577-78, 587.

was not in the military service or engaged in some form of industry necessary to support the army.

Another test of sacrifice was in raising revenues. Three means were open to the confederate authorities—taxation, the issue of bonds, and the circulation of treasury notes. Each was employed to the limit of its possibility. Taxation was peculiarly restricted by the conditions existing in a very rural region. The people, long accustomed to buying their merchandise on credit to be paid for in bulk by handing over their crops to the factors who had supplied them, had carried on their business on an unusually small amount of money. What little they had was soon paid into the treasury to satisfy the claims of the tax-collector or in exchange for confederate bonds. That done, direct taxation became a slender reliance for obtaining the large sums that the war demanded. As for indirect taxes, export and import duties, from which much had been expected in the beginning, the blockade of the Southern ports made the foreign trade such a small affair that these taxes yielded next to nothing. If the South could have exported her cotton supply during this struggle, she could have borrowed freely in Europe, in which case the result of the war might well have been far different from what it proved to be.

The sale of confederate bonds turned out to be a disappointing thing, partly because the people, finding their cotton unsaleable, had little money with which to buy, and partly because the bonds which they took in exchange for the produce they sold to the government were forced on the market at steadily falling prices in order to obtain the funds needed for ordinary purposes. So rapidly did the bonds depreciate that the government was forced to limit bond sales in order to protect its credit.

The only resource left was to issue treasury notes, or confederate money. The financiers of the confederacy well knew what dangers lurked in such a process, but they could not help themselves. Issue after issue was made to meet the necessities of the hour. Inflation was the inevitable result. Confederate money became so cheap that it was wittily said that the ladies of Richmond carried their money to market in their baskets and brought their purchases home in their purses. In the third year of the war it took twenty confederate dollars to buy one dollar in specie. Long before this, however, specie had disappeared from circulation. The government had gathered all it could lay hands on and sent it out of the country to buy needed supplies, specie being the only money it could use in such transactions. Some of the best fighting done by the confederate soldiers was done by men whose only pay was in confederate bills worth so little that the men who received them had little hope of getting enough for a month's pay to buy a pair of shoes for wife or daughter.

The Southerners are noted for good nature under calamity. Under such burdens as the war brought they manifested the best of spirits. Mrs. Clayton tells of one of her friends who drew a thousand dol-

lars from a bank in Richmond and rode off blithely to spend it all on an evening's entertainment of his friends. It cost twenty-five dollars an hour to hire a carriage to go to a reception, and an equal amount was paid for a brace of ducks. Yet dinners and receptions were never so well attended in Richmond, nor so much enjoyed. Southerners were brought up to think less of money than some of their brethren who lived in sections where careful business habits were common instincts. They would face the situation to the end in a care-free spirit, because it was their habit to face danger without gloom. Gloominess came at last, in the last days of the war; but it was the depression arising from the certainty of coming defeat for the cause they loved, not from the hardships they faced.

None knew better than they what failure would mean. Financial ruin was certain. The loss of the slaves would of itself be a vast sacrifice of wealth. It is true the negroes would still be with them as hired laborers, and if the owners were forced to pay wages they would at least be relieved of the expense of supporting the entire slave population. What was lost in one way would be nearly regained in the other. But it was not to be denied that slaves were wealth to the possessor. They furnished the basis of credit, and with that went the possibility of doing and being all the things wealth makes possible.

More than this, the destruction of slavery would go far toward the destruction of the crystallization of Southern society. Through several generations a number of leading families had built up each community. They had given it its ideals, its initiative, and its social standards. They were the keystone of Southern life. They could not keep their feet as leaders if slavery were overthrown. The Southern plantation was the unit of Southern life. The worst catastrophe that defeat brought to the South was the breakdown of this unit, leaving the people to begin the slow process of rebuilding other units on a new basis. The old planter was to be thrown into the discard, and those who had been in the middle or in the lower class were to be thrown up into prominence. Life had to be built all over again. It was the consciousness of this impending disorganization that took all the heart out of the Southern people of the leading class when they came at last to realize that their united efforts were to end in failure.

For the men of the middle class, the small slaveholders and the farmers who worked with their own hands, the war was equally a calamity. It is true that it was to bring them opportunities they had not had before, but they were hardly able to see so far into the future. Their immediate concern was the loss of the cause for which they had fought. Between them and the planters was no distrust. Together they had stood before the war, together they stood in the struggle, and together they would stand in calamity. In fact, the results would be bad enough for all. There was no capital in the South, except the capital invested in land, that was not to be swept

away by the ruin that impended. Into confederate bonds, and confederate money had gone every kind of saving. People who were in debt, and there were many of them in a country whose business was so seriously demoralized by war, would not be able to pay. The thriftless man would have to sell to wipe out his obligations, the thrifty man would see his mortgages and notes of hand become nearly valueless through the general depreciation of property that had formerly been considered good security. Never did a community come nearer to general bankruptcy than the South through the failure of its struggle for independence.

It is evident that most Southerners saw their coming catastrophe by the middle of summer, 1864. Why, therefore, did they not give up the struggle at that time? If they had acted on a mere basis of self-

interest they would, probably, have given up. But there was something else in the struggle. The psychologist may call it what he wills; the Southerner called it honor. For the sake of his honor he would not submit. He fought the dire fight out to utter exhaustion; and to this day he has not been sorry that he chose that course rather than the less ideal way of saving what he could through throwing himself on the mercy of his opponents. In doing so he lost much of his property, no doubt; but he handed down to his children some of the best ideals of human living. He showed them how to give themselves for their convictions. It was his opportunity to prove his loyalty, and he met it without flinching. The example he gave to the world is to-day a part of the common stock of American ideals, and it is not too much to say that it will not be lost on the men of the present time.

The Changing Fortunes of the Great War

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

During the past two months (July and August) the military situation on the more important battle fronts has suffered material and even startling changes. The power of the Central Monarchies reached its high-water mark with the fourth German offensive of the present year's campaign, which began on the 9th of June. Six weeks later it was becoming evident that in both military strength and prestige the Teutonic empires had entered upon a period of serious decline. The end of the war may yet be far distant; but at this writing the Allied nations are looking toward the future with more real confidence in the outcome than at any other time since America entered the war.

I. THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

This belief that the situation has actually changed to the disadvantage of the enemy is based on the progress of a series of events, movements, and undertakings, the more important of which may be listed as follows:

1. On June 15, after long and elaborate preparation, the Austrians launched their "hunger offensive" in the valley of the Piave River. It is reported that a million men were thrown against the Italian lines. The drive made only slight progress, however, and after a week's fighting it ended in defeat before the counter-thrusts of the Italians and their allies.

2. On July 6 the Italians suddenly attacked the Austrian lines in Albania. This offensive was of minor character, but it gained some territory for the Italians, and further served to emphasize the earlier defeat of the Austrians on the Piave.

3. Nine days later (July 15) the Germans opened their fifth great offensive. Their armies crossed the Marne on the first day, and at certain points they advanced their lines about two miles. But there was no further progress; the "peace offensive" failed.

4. On the fourth day of this drive General Foch struck at the wedge that the enemy had driven southward between the Vesle and the Marne. The attack was successful, and since that date the Allied command has retained the initiative. More than two-thirds of the territory lost to the Germans since March 21 has been recovered.

5. During the past year, and especially during the past four months, a vast American army has been landed and organized on French soil. At this writing its total strength is well past 1,500,000. American forces in constantly growing numbers have been employed in checking all the five German offensives, and have been used effectively in the aggressive operations of the Allied armies since General Foch seized the initiative on July 18.

6. In August the Allied governments finally reached an agreement in the matter of giving assistance to the anti-German elements in Russia. British, Japanese, and American troops have been landed or have appeared at five different points in the territories that once were Russia: on the Murman coast, at Archangel, on the Caspian shore (at Baku), in western Turkestan, and at Vladivostok.

7. The neutral governments have apparently concluded that Germany faces inevitable defeat. On August 22 it was announced that the Swedish government had finally concluded a commercial agreement with the Allies, according to the terms of which a large part of the Swedish shipping will be placed at the service of the enemies of Germany. In view of the fact that Germany was, in the years before the war, the "best customer" of the Swedes, this agreement becomes very significant.

8. During the same week the German foreign office was considering the probable effects of a threat from the Spanish government to seize and use German

ships interned in Spanish ports, if the German U-boats should continue the destruction of Spanish ships.

II. THE LENGTHENING OF THE BRITISH BATTLE LINE.

The more recent undertakings of the British army have again called the world's attention to the initiative and resources of the British Commonwealth. The Union Jack now floats over a long series of "fronts" from Ypres to Vladivostok. The bulk of the English army is no doubt fighting in Flanders and Picardy! but there are also important British commands in northern Italy, at Saloniki, and at various points in Asia. In Palestine and Mesopotamia large forces, composed chiefly of native Indian soldiery, but under English command, have made considerable progress in wresting those ancient lands from the Turk. Recently it has been reported that British forces have found their way from Mesopotamia to Baku and from India through eastern Persia into Turkestan. Of these advances little is known, but they are likely to prove of considerable importance. The Allied army that is working its way northward from Vladivostok is made up in part of British soldiers.

The German who studies the more distant regions of the war map will no doubt be interested to find that British forces have placed themselves squarely across most of the great commercial routes leading from Europe to the Near East, the Far East, and southern Asia.

1. Austria has long hoped to come into possession of Saloniki, the most important port on the Aegean Sea; but the Saloniki front, in which England shares, prevents the Hapsburgs from realizing this ambition.

2. The Bagdad Railway, with its Syrian branch, which was to carry German power to the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf, and divert a large part of the Asiatic trade to Prussian ports, has lost its value to the commercial barons of Germany since the fall of Bagdad and Jerusalem.

3. The more recent German dream of commercial expansion through Russia and Ukraine along the Siberian Railway and the routes farther south is likely to remain a dream only. Two railway lines running from the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov to the Caspian lands converge at Baku; it was doubtless the fact that Baku is an important point on one of the great routes to the Orient, rather than the wealth of the neighboring oil fields, that determined the British authorities to send an expedition into this region. Just across the Caspian from Baku another railway line continues the eastward course along the Persian frontier and past the historic cities of Bokhara and Samarcand, almost to the Chinese frontier. The British expedition into Turkestan has doubtless been sent to seize and hold some important point on this line. The Union Jack is also in evidence at the Pacific terminal of the Siberian Railway.

The Allies, with the English among them, have also landed troops on the Arctic coast of Russia, and are in control of the two most important ports in that region: Archangel and Alexandrovsk (Catherine Harbor). From these ports railways run into the interior of Russia—from Alexandrovsk to Petrograd, and from Archangel to Moscow. In the event of military operations in northern Russia the occupation of these points is a matter of great importance. Serious operations are, however, not likely to be undertaken by either side for some months to come, as the winter season on the shores of the White Sea is long and severe.

III. THE CZECHS AND SLOVAKS IN SIBERIA.

The most promising development in Russia during the past summer has been the singular and wholly unexpected activity of the Czecho-Slovak prisoners of war in the territories east of the Volga River. The Czechs are the Slavic inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia. The Slovaks are a kindred people living east of the Moravians in northern Hungary. The languages spoken in these three areas are closely related, and the Czecho-Slovak people may be regarded as forming a distinct nationality.

For some time there has been a strong nationalist and anti-German movement in Bohemia; and among the Slovaks there has been much dissatisfaction with their subjection to Hungary. In the present war the Slavic subjects of the Austrian emperor have not been ardent supporters of the imperial cause. In various ways the Czechs and Slovaks have found their way into the armies of the Allies; both in Italy and on the western front their regiments have engaged the German enemy.

But it is in Siberia that these peoples have found their great military opportunity. During the last year of Russian participation in the war Czechs and Slovaks in large numbers entered the Russian line as prisoners of war or deserters. When the Bolshevik leaders seized the government and made "peace" with the enemy, these Austrian Slavs found themselves in a difficult position. To return to Bohemia or Hungary was neither wholly safe nor to their liking; accordingly they applied to the Bolshevik rulers for permission to leave Russia, their purpose being to join the Allies in France. Permission was finally secured, and about 100,000 men with considerable equipment set out on the long journey to Vladivostok, where they hoped to find shipping to some English or French port.

The Germans learned what these Slavs were planning, and naturally interposed objections. Trouble soon broke out between the Bolsheviks and these traveling Bohemians, most of whom were still in southern eastern Russia and western Siberia. The disagreement led to hostilities and the Czecho-Slovaks found it necessary to seize large sections of the Siberian Railway.

There were at the time several centers of opposition to the Bolsheviks in Siberia. A counter-revolution